[172] 301 layers /271/ dating from that epoch. Its origin must be sought there, and it is now nothing more than a Neolithic vestige.

A number of little cases which the Tuareg wear suspended around the neck and resting on the chest may be considered ornaments. [531] They are little leather cases -- decorated, painted or embroidered, or even stamped in relief -- and they contain various little instruments. [415] Thus, there are mirror cases, needle cases, razor cases, scissor cases, toothbrush cases, etc., and little wallets in which the Tuareg put what they prize most -- money, a /strike-a-light/ steel box and its flint, or tobacco.

/272/ They also wear 301 75 quantities of amulets in leather or metal cases on their chests, their arms, or their hair. But [178] this custom, religious in origin, has evolved in the direction of ornamentation, for many of these amulet cases contain nothing.

301 Female jewelry is much richer and more varied. It is [328] all made of silver; gold jewelry is never seen among [283] the Tuareg. They maintain [777] that gold is unlucky for the possessor and that this metal corrupts people.

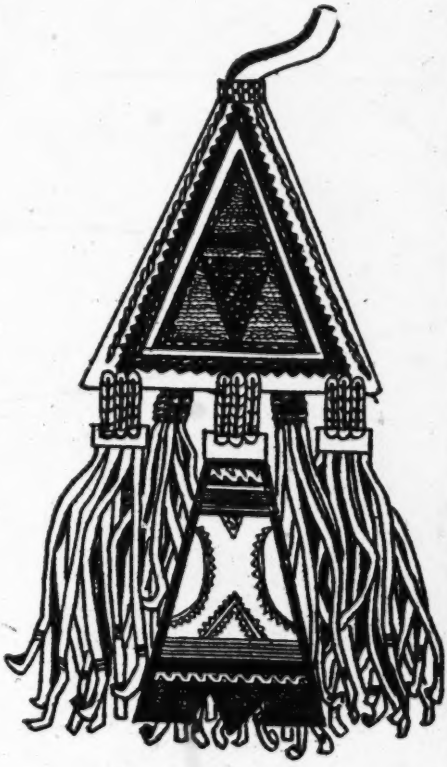


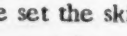
Fig. 42. Needle case of worked leather, with knife slits and embroidery. The background is red; the ornamental painting, black; the embroidery, red and green cotton.

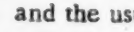
The women get up and make a sort of mattress of sand or earth, which is called "adebel": and which is covered with a haïk. Over it will be set the skin tent on two wooden arches, "idjedjan" , and the usual pegs. 585

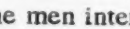
But at this point the men intervene and seize the tent cover. Two on one side and two on the other, they throw it back and forth three times, calling "Saoula iaoulit (throw and send back)." This brings good fortune. [777]

Then the tent is finally set up. The men lead the groom to the tent. He is made to go around it three times; then he enters, taking care to put his right foot in first, again because this brings good fortune. [777]

The groom is in the tent with his friends. The women then accompany the bride while singing: 585 533 539

"Bismillaten ar essa 

"Se iz'ar isem n yalla 

"Foull ilik ner' as tedoua" 

which means:

"In the name of God on them up to seven times,
"Preceding the name of God,
"On our daughter who left in the evening (for her husband's home)." /17/

A few meters from the tent the son of the bride's maternal aunt comes forward and wants to hold the bride back, telling her: "I will not let you leave before receiving my gift, my sandals. Aouid ir'atimen (give me my sandals)." The groom or his friends then pass him a pair of sandals which were set aside for this purpose or, lacking these, another gift. 585 431

Then the women in chorus ask questions to which the men reply in chorus: 585 533 539

Women's chorus:

Nellouz We are hungry.

Men's chorus:

Atekchimet You will eat.

Women's chorus:

Ner'loul We are naked.

There are also lucky or unlucky days. The lucky days, 777
those which are recommended for starting on a journey, are [484]
Friday after prayer, Saturday morning, and Monday. /63/
For the lucky day of the month one first counts 2 from the
index finger and, coming back to the index finger, 7, 12,
17, 22, 27.

The unlucky days are Sunday and Wednesday.

The Tuareg also believe in the evil eye, "tahott." 754

An eclipse is the sun's raid on the moon, and vice versa. 821

Finally, there is a very curious custom of which Duveyrier 769
has spoken, which is that of consulting old graves. Usually 787
it is the women who go to consult them. They dress well
and must avoid having on themselves anything of iron or steel,
even a needle. They lie down near the grave, and the
"zabbar" (ogre) inhabiting the grave appears to them in the
form of a giant with eyes as large as a camel's, and gives
them the answers they want. They are consulted especially
in order to get news of absent ones, people gone on a raid
or in a caravan, from whom there has been no news.

Chapter IX

Stock Raising. Flocks

Camels, sheep, and goats constitute the chief resource 233
of the Tuareg, as of all nomads. Camels especially are the
object of all their care, since these give them the greatest
service. They rely greatly on camels, ewes, and goats be- [234]
cause of the milk, of which they drink a great deal, and melted
butter, "oudi," which they make.

They use all the hides: those of camels for sandals, 237
containers for butter, watering troughs, etc.; those of sheep 281
or goats for waterskins and the manufacture of tents, leather
clothes, etc. /64/

233/78 cont. / "maroki." The Sudan camel is the largest, generally has /79/ a light coat, is strong and fast; when it is very fat, its hump becomes high; it must have plenty of nourishment and fares badly on poor pasturage. When it is in good shape, it can carry 200 kilograms of merchandise.

The Ahaggar camel is smaller but always has a nice bearing; its coat may be light, but many of these camels are dark. When it is fat, its hump does not rise much but overflows on the sides; a more frugal eater than the Sudan camel, it can get along on meager pastures. If it runs more slowly, it climbs better; its feet become overheated on the sand but will hold up on jagged pebbles. It cannot carry more than about 150 kilograms.

There are not many maroki in the Ahaggar. It is smaller than the others but much stronger; in comparason with them it seems awkward. It requires abundant food, but in exchange can carry up to 300 kilograms. Generally dark colored, the maroki has a thick coat.

233 192 The Tuareg vocabulary to designate the camel is rich, a proof of the interest in the animal. The generic term is "amis," "imenas" in the plural. "Amadjor" is also generic but is used in the sense of: "camel seen in the distance but not identified." The plural is "imoudjar." The female camel is called "talemt" (plural: "tillemin"); "timetirout" (plural: "timetterouin") means "pregnant camel." The newborn camel is called "aoura"; at one year it is called "ag aouatey"; at two years, "allogues"; three years, "akanafoud"; four years (the teeth begin to grow but do not emerge), "arafer"; five years (two teeth), "ag essin"; six years (four teeth), "ag okkoz"; seven years (six teeth), "Ammessedis"; eight years (two canines), "aoutahallat"; adult and old camels intermingle so that a Targui is incapable of saying how old camels live to be; some die young, some old, but the Targui never gives an opinion as to age, for that could be bad luck.

[777]

754 /114 cont./ Belief in the evil eye is shared by the Negroes and the Tuareg: certain persons may by their words cause the worst calamities, induce illness, provoke accidents, make animals die. Happily, there are other persons who have the opposite power and who, by approaching a sleeper and placing a hand near his face, give him strength and luck for the day.

[777 837] In general women are carriers of bad luck in the morning; however, if an intimate lets her sex be glimpsed before a morning departure, luck will smile on the hunter.

Of one who has the evil eye, it is said in Tamashek; "illé tahot."

[779 776] Who gives that good or bad luck carried by an individual and which may sometimes emanate from him? The reply to this question is: God, for, after all, these people are Moslems; but each one is persuaded that the genii, the Kel es Souf, as the Tuareg say, are agents of this suprahuman life. The Kel es Souf constitute a people of spirits invisible during the day, but who may appear to humans at night in the most varied forms. At nightfall comes the most favorable moment for the exploits of the Kel es Souf. All manifestations of natural forces are attributed to these genii: whirlwinds, echoes, floods of the wadi, cave-ins, a spontaneous fire in the dry grass. On the contrary, the mirage ("eillel") is not the work of the Kel es Souf.

/115/ He who hears or sees one of these genii is always troubled; he may become ill and even insane, for, if there are indifferent Kel es Souf (very few, however), there are no good ones. It is because of this that one must know how to protect oneself against them; this is ordinarily done by invoking God, by carrying talismans, and by always having an iron object with oneself.

The Kel es Souf like certain places and reside there in preference to others: deep ravines, in which they shower atones on the unfortunate humans who venture there, and caves, in

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

human beings, and in the past was used by the Tuareg to poision their enemies. However, this plant does not seem to be venomous for domestic animals which grow fat from eating it (cf. Maire 1933, p. 192). One plant (*tehereggelé*) (*Artemisia judaica*) is said to have an intermediate position: When camels eat its green shoots they may contract entrail diseases, but the plant is also considered a remedy for entrail worms. Domestic animals which have eaten venomous plants are generally treated with liquid butter which is poured into their mouths. Venomous animals are also very dangerous for domestic animals, notably scorpions and snakes which abound everywhere. The treatment of swollen limbs caused by snake bites or scorpion stings is sometimes bleeding, but the Northern Tuareg also consider it effective to give the affected animal fat from a female barbary sheep and to place a little fat over the place where the animal has been bitten or stung. Under this heading of veterinary medicine mention must finally be made of the fact that tobacco is considered to possess curative qualities in the case of certain diseases. When camels get tired and slow owing to congestion during the hot summer season the Tuareg consider it an excellent remedy to put, as mentioned above, powdered tobacco leaves in the animals' eyes. This was frequently practised with my own camels, and it seems to me that the method is efficacious.

It is evident that many veterinary methods among those mentioned above are effective, and I believe that Tuareg veterinary methods are largely to be considered rational. It is a true that it is most difficult for an anthropologist without any veterinary training to judge objectively the value of all treatments of stock-diseases. But French veterinary surgeons I consulted at Agadez held the view that the Tuareg methods they knew of were effective, though in specific cases of disease they could do better than the Tuareg, and one veterinary surgeon admitted that the Tuareg knew far more about camel-diseases than did modern veterinaries. It can be added that the Tuareg possess an anatomical knowledge of their animals which is no less than astonishing. Apoggi has noted 43 terms used by the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer to describe the exterior parts of a camel (Apoggi 1933), and this list is not complete. It goes without saying that the Tuareg also have a large vocabulary for internal organs which they know in detail from slaughtering. And I believe that have a fairly good knowledge of physiology.

I have elsewhere given some information of Tuareg medical methods applied to human beings (Nicolaisen 1961; cf. also Humann 1933), and I have stated that Tuareg medicine cannot be understood entirely without reference to religious and magic beliefs. This is to some extent also true of their veterinary methods. But as far as I know there are many medical methods based on magic and religious ideas which are applied solely to human beings. This may seem quite natural.

Domestic animals may run the risk of being attacked by evil forces such as the evil eye and the evil mouth (*tehof* in Ahaggar; *tugarchet* in Ayr), the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and the mystic power known as *effama* or *tezma* in Ayr (cf. p. 21), and valuable animals may carry Islamic amulets as a protection against these evils. I have seen such amulets carried by a few rams and he-goats, but they are used particularly for camels, and I believe that most camel amulets are meant to protect the animals from the evil eye (the evil mouth). Against this malignant force camels may also be provided with a donkey's hoof hung around the neck as an amulet. Another non-Islamic amulette is used for riding camels in Ayr:— Some Tuareg of this region hang the foot of a turtle around the camel's neck in order that their riding animal may not stumble.

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Fig. 100. Earmarks of the types used for goats and sheep among the Northern Tuareg. Ahaggar, the tribes *Dag Ğali* and *Afuh-en-srhil*.

never use earmarks for donkeys which are branded like their camels, and I believe that this rule also holds for the *Isəkkemaren* Tuareg, though I do not know this to be true for tribes other than those of *Kel Terurit* and *Kel-I-n-tunin*.

The property brands of the Northern Tuareg are burned into the skin of the camel (donkey) by means of a redhot iron known as *éndel* (Figs. 102a–b), but if this implement is not available another piece of iron is used, e.g., the iron tripod for suspension of kettles and cooking pots. The brands are known as *ahwalen* (sing. *éhwel*), and there are a great many different ones which have their particular names. These brands are frequently depicted in literature (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 629 f.; Lhote 1955a, p. 235), and spoken of as "tribal brands". However, as property marks are patrilineally inherited while tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, the members of the same tribe will possess more than one camel-brand. For marriages are contracted between different tribes, though some of these units are predominantly endogamous. Furthermore there are a few Tuareg who use different camel-brands for camels inherited from the father and the mother, as there are some who have adopted the mother's father's brand because their father's brand was believed to have brought bad luck in camel-breeding. For these reasons there are frequently more than one brand within a tribe, and individuals or small patrilineages generally add to their main brand (*éhwel*) a supplementary

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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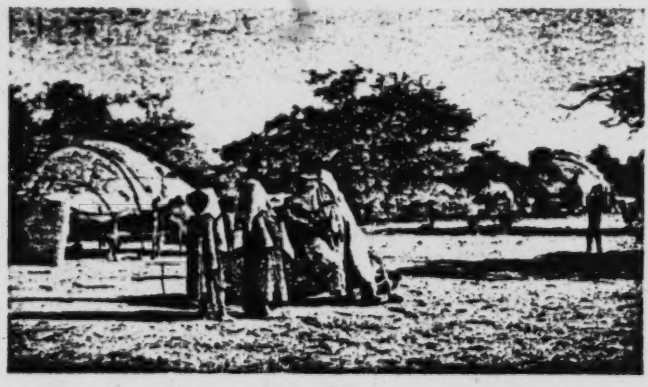

Fig. 109. A family camp of four mat-covered barrel-vaulted tents. Ayr, the *Iyoudéyaan* tribe.

422
* 233 donkeys by certain Ayr Tuareg are most interesting. Though such marks are used by many tribes there does not seem to be a great variety of them, and I have noted only the following marks:—

[565] (1) *tallayt*, that is the tip of right ear cut off while a slit is cut into the left ear. This mark is said to be used by all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the members of the two tribes *Kel Akerra* and *Imezzureg*, who claim to be noble by origin, have an additional brand burned into the left hind thigh close to the animal's anus. This brand is called *ekomed*.

(2) two slits in the animal's left ear. Though different from the mark just mentioned it is said also [565] to be called *tallayt*. It is used by the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg (the *Irawatten*), and also by the negroid *Irawéken* who in the past were once slaves of the nobility.

(3) *tabelechchat*, that is one slit in the left ear. This mark is used by the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg who are politically attached to the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg.

[428] Though all property marks are patrilineally inherited it may happen in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, that a Tuareg use two marks. For certain Tuareg will use the mother's father's mark for animals given them [77] by their mother's family, other Tuareg have been brought up among matrilineal kinsmen whose mark they have adopted, and there are also people who have adopted their mother's family mark because they believed that their father's mark brought them bad luck in camel-breeding.

6/4 The Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group fall into a number of units which are known by the word *tawchit*. It seems to have much the same meaning as the word *tawsit* of Northern Tuareg dialect, but is also used to designate the so-called spiked wheel-trap. I call these units for tribes as they do not seem to correspond to unilateral descent groups. Many tribes have a tradition of their descent from a common ancestress, but though tribal members may know her name they are never able to connect her with their genealogies which are very badly known. To my knowledge there are no tribes of true Ayr Tuareg that are named after an ancestress or have avuncular names. The Ayr tribes have geographical names or are called after an ancestor to whom they are also unable to connect their [59] genealogies. It is possible that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in the past have followed the rules of residence

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 111. Skin bag of *tchchâkwat* type made from a jackal's skin. The Ahaggar Tuareg believe that people who conserve their money in a skin bag of this kind will have good luck in trading. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.63 m (F.M. 283).

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p. 447; Bissuel 1888, p. 94 f.; Harding King 1903, p. 272, photograph opposite title-page; Rodd 1926a, p. 235; Lhote 1955a, p. 375).

In Ayr I collected evidence of the fact that the sling known as *tfezemfes* was very common in former days. It was made from plaited dum palm leaves, but the Tuareg claim that it was not a hunting weapon, as it could not be used with precision. For the same reason, it is said, the sling could not be used for herding domestic animals – there would be a great risk of wounding them. It seems as though the sling among the Ayr Tuareg was used mainly as a toy. It has apparently disappeared, and a Tuareg of the religious *Ineslemen* class told me that the sling was a bad thing to use, because of a story in the Koran of a sling that was once used to throw a man into the fire. I do not know whether the sling is, or was, used among the Northern Tuareg, but think it very likely. The sling has an extremely wide distribution in Africa, and it has been recorded from various northern Berber tribes and from the Fezzan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 214 ff.).

The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr, like pastoral Arabs of Algeria, frequently carry a short, heavy stick (*oburi*). A stick of this kind is sometimes used as a throwing stick, or throwing club, by Tuareg and Arabs, but cannot be characterized as a proper throwing stick. It is only occasionally used as a hunting implement thrown against birds and small animals and serve many different purposes. I believe that most Tuareg carry such heavy sticks as a weapon for personal protection and for killing poisonous snakes. In literature it is stated that true throwing clubs or throwing sticks occur among the Tuareg (cf. Lindblom 1925, I, p. 117, 137 f.), but they seem to be unknown both in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A large wooden club, collected at Timbuktu by O. Hagerup and now in the National Museum (Copenhagen), is rather to be considered a weapon than a hunting implement (cf. Fig. 120b). The throwing knife that is sometimes stated to be a Tuareg weapon is not traditionally used by these people. A rare throwing knife may be introduced into Ayr from the Teda together with spears and knives of Teda type (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 202 f.).

Hunting may have been important to many Tuareg in the past when game was more abundant. Today true hunters are found mainly in tribes living in isolated and mountainous regions, notably among the *Kel Tamgak* or *Imedderaren* (Ayr), and among the *Dag Rali* (Ahaggar). It is very interesting that proper hunting territories are found within the territory of the *Dag Rali* tribe, and it is significant that it is strictly forbidden to graze domestic animals withing two hunting territories where barbary sheep are also protected for a period of three months every year (cf. p. 148). It is also interesting that the Tuareg have certain age-terms which are used exclusively for game animals. Thus the Ahaggar Tuareg have three age-terms for gazelle:—

Age	Male	Female
Kid from its birth to the appearance of its horns . .	*awhim*	*tawhimt*
Animal not yet fully grown having small horns . . .	*ahyar*	*tahyart*
Fully grown animal	*ahenkod*	*tahenkot*

Certain superstitious usages and beliefs are connected with hunting among the Tuareg:—

(1) When a gazelle is killed its black tail-tuft is immediately cut off and placed in one of the animal's nostrils (Fig. 122). This is common practise among all Tuareg and also among Arabs of the Sahara.

7:Nicolaisen E-S (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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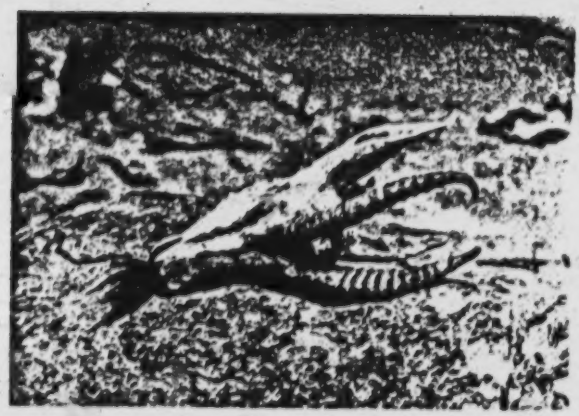

Fig. 122. Gazelle's head with the black tail-tuft inserted into one of the nostrils as a remedy against the mystic evil power called *ettama* (*tezma*). Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

This custom is believed to afford protection against the mystical power known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ettama*, or *tezma* – an evil power possessed by certain Tuareg and by all blacksmiths (cf. p. 21). A person who possesses this evil power may, if he does not receive part of the booty, spoil the hunter's luck when seeing the killed gazelle. The tail-tuft put into the animal's nostril eliminates this risk.

(2) When a hunter returns to his camp with booty he should not show the killed game to other people, and if asked about the results of his hunting trip he should deny that he has had any luck. This custom is also explained as being a protection against the evil power *ettama* (*tezma*) just mentioned.

(3) When a man leaves his camp for a hunting trip he must not talk about it, nor must it be mentioned by other people. This belief has its root in the conception of the "evil mouth" (the "evil eye") known in Ayr as *tagarchet*, in Ahaggar as *teboi*.

(4) If a hunter has given meat from his killed game to another man, the latter should not praise it. This belief is due to the belief in the "evil mouth" – the belief that a man's luck can be spoiled by praise.

224
777 (5) In a *Dag Rali* camp I have noticed that a piece of bone of a barbary sheep was conserved in a skin bag. I was told that this was done in order that the hunter might have good luck in his future hunting of barbary sheep.

828 (6) Certain omens bring good luck in hunting as well as in other projects, e.g., to walk between two black ravens (Ayr), or to see two black ravens (Ahaggar); to see a jackal; to see the hawk called *akallam*; to see three gazelles.

224
777 (7) The Tuareg have various methods of divination some of which are frequently used in connection with hunting. The hunter will frequently enquire into the result of a planned hunting trip by means of a method known in Ahaggar as *igehan*, in Ayr as *igazan*. In brief the method is practised as follows:— The diviner presses his thumb or his forefinger quickly into the sand to make two rows of holes close to each other. He does not know ahead how many holes he has made in the two rows. He counts

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the number of holes in each row and makes a special sign in the sand for even and uneven numbers. There are four possibilities of different signs:— (1) A sign called *tezli* if there is an uneven number of holes in both rows; (2) A sign known as *ihlli* if there is an even number of holes in both rows; (3) A sign, *eggar*, if the number of holes is uneven in the right row, but even in the left row; (4) A sign, *tamayit*, if the number of holes is even in the right row, but uneven in the left. The diviner makes two rows of holes six times successively. Each time he makes one of the mentioned signs according to the distribution of holes, and the result of his divination depends upon the character of the signs and their relative position to each other (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 151 f.). – The Tuareg have other methods of divination which are perhaps also used to predict the result of planned hunting trips. They also know to take omens from the shoulder-blades of wild and domestic animals. When a hunter has killed a gazelle he will often keep the shoulder-blades for himself, and having eaten the meat he will take omens of future happenings from the structure of these bones. Such shoulder-blades will not be thrown to the dogs – they are hidden under rocks and stones (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 150 f.).

Some of the above mentioned usages and beliefs have been mentioned also by Lhote (Lhote 1951a, p. 180 f.), who has noted a few other customs connected with hunting:—

(8) If a hunter kills a snake he will get nothing. (A particular snake species known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *imegel* is never killed, as it is considered "sacred" and is referred to as a "marabut").

(9) If two men hunt together, but separate to meet later, the man who comes upon the other must not receive food from him.

(10) Handling the skin of game animals one must not put fingers into a bullet hole. This would cause bad shooting or accidents on future hunting trips, and the rule is observed even with tanned skin.

A few other superstitious usages have been recorded from Ahaggar by Captain Florimond (Rapport Annuel. Ouargla 1940). They are here quoted from Lhote 1951a, p. 181 f.:—

(11) Hunters of the *Dag Rali* take omens from the breaking of sandal straps in the pursuit of barbary sheep. If the straps passing between the toes break the hunter will kill a male, while he will get a female animal if the side-straps break.

(12) When Tuareg of the *Kel Mertutek* (*Dag Rali*) leave for a hunting trip they put a stone or pebble on their heads and utter an invocation to hunting spirits which is rapidly repeated ten times.

(13) When *Dag Rali* Tuareg set out hunting they take with them a stone from a pre-Islamic tomb. When game is seen they throw this stone far away crying at their dogs: "Go! What you kill shall be *hallal* and lawful!"

(14) When a barbary sheep has been killed by people hunting with dogs, the head of the animal is cut off and thrown on the fire while the following words are uttered:— "The smell from the burned skin of the head of the barbary sheep shall forever flatter the hunter's nostrils so that he may have good luck in future hunting also!" Tuareg of the *Kel Mertutek* will add:— "I have taken you from the *Kel Asuf* and I have taken only the blessing they have sold you that you may soon be followed by your peer!"

(15) At the partition of killed game the meat must be handled with slow motions. If not, the dogs will lose their fierceness.

(16) It is believed that a hunter should fix a burning piece of wood in the soil by the fire in which

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his game has been prepared. If this wooden piece is removed by another hunter he will spoil all the hunting luck of the first hunter, who will then have to find the offender and spit three times between his shoulders in order to regain the lost hunting luck. If he does not find the offender he will give all his hunting dogs the following treatment:— Black powder is set on fire, and one ear of every dog is held close to the burning powder so that the dog will cry as loudly as possible. The same treatment is applied to the dogs in case anybody has handled the meat of game with rapid motions.

There can be little doubt that some of these superstitious usages are pre-Islamic, and it seems as though there is a certain connection between hunting rites and the *Kel Asuf* spirits corresponding to the *jinns* of the Arabs. This is also quite natural in view of the fact that these pre-Islamic spirits are believed mainly to inhabit the isolated areas preferred by game animals (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 125 ff.).

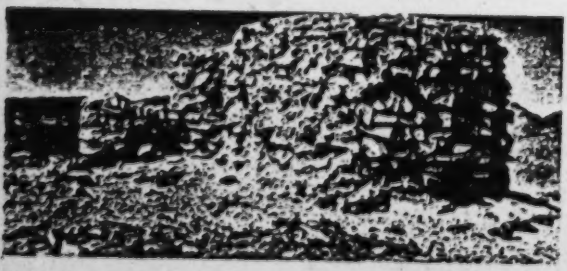
Game animals should always be killed ritually by cutting the throat like domestic animals (cf. p. 231). If an animal is killed by a rifle bullet, its throat is cut as quickly as possible, but the Tuareg say that even an animal killed in this way die "slowly" and that its death is not accomplished until the throat is cut. If a knife is lacking the Tuareg sometimes use a stone to beat open the throat of birds such as pigeon and guinea fowl.

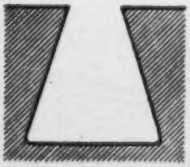
[Text continues on p. 175]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

them. They are lined and covered with mats as in Ahaggar, and though they may be used for the storage of wild seeds they are mainly used for grown cereals and are generally found in or close to gardens. Grain silos built of stones and mud – the *tarassana* type of Ahaggar – are said to occur among the *Kel Ewey* but I have never seen such storerooms in their villages, nor have I met the typical African storeroom built of straw and resting upon poles until south of the Massif in Damergu where they are used by shifting cultivators. Large earthenware containers shaped like cooking pots are used to store vegetable products (cereals) in certain villages, particularly at Iferwan. Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr have the underground storerooms for the preservation of surplus grain and other vegetable products. Cereals to be consumed in the camps (notably millet) are kept in large skin-bags resting upon poles that they may not be damaged by white ants. The Ahaggar Tuareg also preserve cereals in their tents in skin-bags.

Irrigation agriculture is a strenuous task, but it is less influenced by climatic conditions than all other occupations practised in the Sahara. The farmers are not exposed to the same disasters of drought periods as are pastoral Tuareg in the north, though it is said that rain is a direct blessing also to irrigated crops. But cultivated plants are exposed to certain dangers, e.g., locusts, and crops do not always thrive as they should. Bad luck in agricultural activities may in the opinion of the farmers be due to some mystical power or other. It may arise from incorrect treatment of cereals and dates so that they lose their *elbaraka*. Menstruating women, as mentioned above, are dangerous to vegetable food, and this is also true of the fire, for which reason one should never throw date kernels into the flames. The farmers also fear that their crops may suffer damage from the attack of the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and particularly from the attack of the malignant force attached to the "evil eye" or the "evil mouth". To protect their crops the farmers frequently use amulets such as broken pots and skulls of domestic animals (notably of donkeys), which are considered an effective means against the "evil eye" and the "evil mouth" (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 133 f., 160).





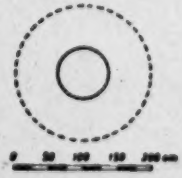


Fig. 145. Grain silos of the *tarassana* type built of stones and mud. Ahaggar, Abalessa.
Fig. 146. Cross section of a subterranean storeroom for cereals, and the like (*dgoud*). Dimensions according to Foucauld: 2.00 m–2.50 m deep, 2.00 m in diameter at the bottom, 0.75 m in diameter at the surface (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 459 f.).

[text continues on p. 209]